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868 526 492 Practice in handling and riding horses under all conditions is a regular part of the training. The boy is taught to ride bareback, to control the horse with only a rope around its nose, and to ride down a steep incline, picking up objects from the ground as he goes. He is also judged as he rides full speed toward a barrier and tries to halt his horse just before reaching it, or jumps the horse over hurdles.

868 526 One of the last activities of this phase of the training is a cross-country run. The route that is to be covered is laid out. There are no long halts, and the boys try to refrain from eating for the two days of this journey. Not until the afternoon of the second [866] day may they kill animals for food. The boys do not sleep until the race is over. A variation is to make a group of boys walk all night to see if they can withstand fatigue.

868 554 866 The boys who achieve a position of superiority during this training period rise to pre-eminence in their age group. The tasks which lie ahead are close enough in spirit to those in which they have already excelled so that their futures are reasonably assured. The foundations of status recognitions are laid in the training period, therefore.

503 152 [868] Paternal affection is reinterpreted when the training period begins. No longer is it indulgence. "Because a Chiricahua parent loves his child," he insists upon duties which are often painful, for in his opinion this is the only way "his son will eventually make a living." There is no rancor involved; certainly no conscious cruelty or sadism.

152 156 577 828 This attitude penetrates deeply to the core of all response and behavior. Demonstrativeness is considered unbecoming; what cannot be translated into action need not be protested. Since stoicism and strength are underlined, displays of personal consideration and "softness" must be repressed. Only at times of crisis and of great grief, in appeals to the supernatural, or during mourning do the people permit the emotions full expression.

868 867 The girl's destiny as a dutiful wife is made very clear to her while she is still a child. The father may say, "We want to rear you well so people won't talk about us; we want to get something out of your marriage, so we want to take care of you."

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836 Premarital chastity is expected in the girl. The maidenhead is considered the proof of virginity. A marriage may be abrogated if a bride is found to have been unchaste, and a girl who is deserted for this reason brings disgrace to herself and her family.

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But, because of the heightened round of physical activity at about the time of adolescence and the encouragement of early marriage, premarital sexual activity does not become a serious problem. Of great importance, also, is the existence of separate spheres of activity for men and women. This dichotomy tends to draw the child's interest away from situations which involve the other sex and causes him to seek recognition, rather, in those outlets unequivocally masculine or unequivocally feminine.

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867 834 An Apache boy is trained not to pay too much attention to the women. It is not considered manly. The Apache girl is expected to be reserved, and a show of affection in public between the sexes is laughed at. This training becomes a part of the Apache's thought. He sees it all around him. He notices who is laughed at and who is thought well of, and why. This bashfulness, the unwillingness openly to show a lot of feeling for one of the other sex, is carried right through. It comes out in courtship. It comes out even in marriage.

834 156 Of an aberrant girl who violates the conventions in this regard, the following criticism was offered:

Unlike most Chiricahua girls, she is not bashful. If she came in the room here, she would start talking to you. Lots of the old Indians hold this against her. It is considered too forward for a boy to walk up to a girl and start talking a lot. But when I see this girl I go up to her and start talking. I wouldn't dare do that with any other woman. She will hail someone at a dance before a lot of other people. Many of the older people do not like her for this.

834 Since casual contact between the sexes is discouraged, any overt signs of friendliness between men and women suggest the desire for intimacy. Once when an informant had gone to some trouble to reach a man's camp, he declined to wait there for his friend who was expected back in a short time, saying, "Well, it wouldn't look well if C. came and found me here with these women. C. and I are great friends, and I wouldn't want him to think anything bad of me."

"The feeling is that a man should go his way with his friends and a woman her way with her friends." Anything else is effeminacy on the man's part, forwardness on the woman's. These are

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barriers to intimacy which it is very difficult for the youth to surmount before he is ready to enter into a marriage relationship arranged and approved by his elders. Ordinarily, before maturity and the time for marriage, the boy is so busy proving himself a worthy competitor among men, and the girl is so engrossed in establishing herself as a competent worker among the women, that there is limited need to gratify the primary sex drive. There is no use for prudery or continence as such, but there is a definite concept of normalcy in the relation between the sexes which subordinates the sexual drive to other concerns.

Sexual precocity is rare and sternly discouraged. The one account of such misbehavior which was obtained was that of a seven-year-old boy charged with trying to throw down little girls and molest them. The mothers refused to allow their children to associate with him. An informant, when he was questioned about sexual play among children, claimed that he had never heard of children engaging in sex games but added that, if two children had been caught at "such a thing," the parents "would certainly have whipped both of them."

That masturbation occurs infrequently among the children has been asserted by a number of informants:

> There is no masturbation among the Chiricahua boys. It is against the Apache nature to handle the private organs. There was one boy, a Comanche, who did it and advised J. and me to do it. We thought it a shameful thing to do. I can hardly believe that it is so common among the Whites! It is not done by the Chiricahua. We children were never warned against it. It never was mentioned, thought of, or considered.

Another old man disclaimed knowledge of it, insisting that his people "never thought along that line." "Way back the Chiricahua didn't know what masturbation was," another man declared. However, one informant who had "never heard of masturbation or anything like that among the men" said he had heard of girls masturbating with sticks. A traditional story is told of a woman who abused herself with a cactus plant from which the outer covering had been peeled.

Berdaches rarely appear and are far from pampered or encouraged when they do. They are not mistreated, but they are privately ridiculed.

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The reluctance to discuss intimate matters becomes intensified between individuals of opposite sex:

It is part of Chiricahua nature to be shy about such personal matters. It is almost impossible to talk to a Chiricahua girl about such things. Before I married my wife I never mentioned things of this nature [sexual] to her. Even after her father gave consent to the marriage we said nothing about it until we were living together. That is the old Chiricahua attitude. . . . . She belonged to the old school. I never kissed her or hugged her. We didn't even hold hands. [832]

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To give point to their ideal of restraint between the sexes, informants have repeatedly compared their own customs with those of other peoples whom they have lately come to know:

The young men I went around with attended the Comanche dances. The Comanche were the only ones that had any tribal life and dances still going. We really went to meet the Comanche girls, because they were the ones we had intercourse with.

You couldn't do much with the Chiricahua girls. If you began talking to them about such things, they just got mad and walked away. With the Comanche girls it was different, and we had no trouble at all. The Comanche men did not seem to resent the fact that we went around with the Comanche girls. It seems like a difference in attitude. I don't think it is because the Comanche were more degenerate or had had more contact with whites, because, as a matter of fact, I think the Apache had had more contact and more trouble with the whites and were more disorganized. It seems to me that it was a difference in attitude in treating the whole question. . . . .

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Modesty and delicacy are ideals which some individuals fail to attain:

He is just a man with a dirty mouth. He's been this way ever since I have known him. Because he is always talking about these things some of the Indians call him "He Who Knows about It"; or they call him "Vulva," because he's always talking about that. You can't be with him for five minutes before he will start talking like this. I'll bet if we went right up now and asked him to tell something about the old times, he'd find some excuse for talking like this.

He goes right in to a place where he knows there are people who are ashamed before each other, and just the same he will say something so bad that all these people will have to leave. When the others who are there scold him about it, he says, "Well, I told nothing but the truth, didn't I?"

One time we were having a big council. He was sitting with the men, and his wife was over there sitting on the side of the hill with some other women. After a while she took her moccasins off. He noticed this. "Hey!" he called to her, "what are you doing?" "Oh, I've just taken my moccasins off," she said. "Well,

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834 183 156 you'd better put them on again," he told her, "or some of these men here will see your bare feet and get excited and go for you." His wife only laughed. She's used to that kind of talk. She's much younger than he is. She sticks to him because he's good support, I guess.

834 183 156 593 A second offender, a woman, was also adversely discussed:

That woman is a regular bulldog. She has a dirty mouth. She is awful, that woman! Everybody knows her. She will knock her husband about twenty feet, kick him, and call him dirty names. He doesn't do anything or say anything. He is very mild and doesn't stick up for himself. If you curse him, he will just laugh. Some do not like this about him.

One time my wife and I were visiting. There were about fifteen people present. This couple was there. My wife noticed earlier in the day that the woman was angry. When she saw her come in, she told me to go, because she knew that the woman would use all sorts of bad language. So I got out pretty quick. Later I asked my wife what the woman had done. She had backed her husband against the wall and given him an awful talking to right before all the people. She mentioned how big his privates were and everything.

834 183 Yet, despite these cases, the avowed canons of good taste generally prevail.

834 183 562 Concepts of courtship and sexual behavior are influenced by a manly ideal which slightly subordinates women and penalizes men for any open attention to them:

The Chiricahua men and women regard each other differently from the way the white people do. A man has a more honorary position than a woman. It looks to me as if the women try to serve the men and expect to do so. They show the men a little extra respect. That is why they let the men walk down the road ahead of them.

[574] [764] At a feast, such as a marriage feast, there is a special place for the men. The food is taken out and served to the men first. But there is no special place for the women. The women crowd around and eat what they can get and sit anywhere they can. But the women expect this. They do not think they are abused because of it. They would resent any other kind of treatment. If visitors come, they are served first, but the men visitors are served first of all. It looks as if men do not like to be thought of as coming under the influence of women.

[574] [829] We Chiricahua say, "Look at those white men! They go with their wives all the time. It looks as if they never get tired of them." We brag of the way we do, for we don't like to take our wives along. We have a better time when we are alone. Some of the fellows get together and talk and have fun for hours. We don't have such a good time if the women are around. The men might go to a social dance with their wives, but as soon as they get to the place they leave their wives and go with the men.

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D. said, "I am going to give you valuable property. That man will give you horses. But the way you start off is not right." 584 [583]

The old lady asked, "Who is this man?"

He's standing out there. He's my nephew. I love him. He's a good man for you. . . ."

If the go-between is a relative of the suitor and a friend of the girl's family, he meets opposition by injecting a personal note that is hard to resist: "Sometimes the go-between would say, 'I want your daughter to marry this boy. He is my relative. From now on we will live as relatives.' "

It is an advantage "to get an influential person to talk for you." While the go-between is simply an agent, he takes his task seriously and believes his success is a measure of his persuasiveness. Should he be ungraciously received, he is likely to feel personal resentment. Consequently, it is more difficult for the average family to return a negative reply to a "public figure" than to an ordinary man. Forceful conversationalists are likewise in demand for this office. Sometimes a person gains a reputation in this field and may be asked to perform this service a number of times, but it is denied that there are any "professional go-betweens." Even affinal relatives may act for a young man: "I talked to my sister-in-law about a wife. I told her to ask a certain person for a wife for me. It took a long time." 584 554 [602]

A humorous story, illustrating the kind of temperament eminently suited for the task, is told of a man who has acted as go-between by request on a number of occasions and at least once without specific instructions: 584 156

J. got married through L. L. was always the life of the party. He was witty and loud spoken. He was a widower and J. was living with him. He was related to J. in some way. J. had been going with E.'s daughter for a long time. He intended to marry her anyway, but he had not done anything yet about it. Then L. was invited to a tiswin party at E.'s place. He got feeling good. J. and the girl were not there. While he was feeling good he got talking with Mrs. E. He said, "Now how about letting my relative marry your daughter?" Mrs. E. said, "That's fine!"

The next day L. woke up. He was the way people are after a party. "Oh, J.," he said, "now you are in for it!"

"What's the matter with you? You must feel pretty bad after that party," J. said.

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584 •156 "Well, J.," L. said, "you've been going around with that girl and now I guess you can go with her for the rest of your life. Yesterday I acted as a go-between for you and fixed it up for you to marry her. So we'll have to clean you up, and you'll have to leave me and set up your own home."

J. couldn't believe it was true, but the man had done it. And Mrs. E. had taken it seriously. But J. was glad anyway. He married the girl shortly after that. I sure joke with J.'s wife about this! I tell her that if L. hadn't got drunk, she never would have been married.

584 Usually the go-between leaves the young man behind to await the outcome of the negotiations and performs his work without the suitor's co-operation:

I went to K. He agreed to do it. I was to stay at his place and wait for him while he went out and talked to her father. He promised that he would hurry back as soon as he could. He was all dressed up in his best clothes.

I was pretty nervous while he was gone. I thought of the possibility that I would be turned down. I made up my mind that if I was turned down I would get out of that place just as fast and as quietly as possible.

By and by I saw K. coming. He was taking his time instead of hurrying. "Well! What did he say?" I asked him. "Prepare yourself for bad news," he told me. But I could see he was joking. He fooled around with me for a few minutes before he told me everything was all right. He told me then that the girl's father had agreed right away.

But when there is some uncertainty about gaining consent and the young man's personal assurances of good faith may be required in order to secure a favorable reply, the suitor accompanies the go-between and remains near by. Whenever possible 584 606 the actual face-to-face encounter of a man and his potential parents-in-law is avoided, because, should consent be given, he finds himself standing in the presence of those whom he should not see.

When I went with D., who acted as go-between for me, I stopped at the door. I was not going in there. I would have a better chance if I stayed outside. D. told me, "Stay outside so that you will have more chance; for if you marry this girl, you will have to hide from her mother." J. [a rejected suitor for the hand of the same girl] had come right in with his go-between and made a fool of himself.

I stayed near by so that if they should say, "Well, let's hear from this man," I'd be there and could speak from where I was. I couldn't run right in there and show no respect. So I was standing near the door.

On request, however, the young man has to appear before the kin group of the girl he hopes to marry:

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606 578 596 his obligations to them satisfactorily. "The mother-in-law sticks up for the son-in-law in case of trouble if he is known to be a good man. The mother-in-law does not beat about the bush. She tells the person right out what is in her mind."

[178] That the son-in-law can expect justice and consideration is illustrated by a case, phrased in terms of present-day economy, which preserves values operative in purely aboriginal times. The [156] son-in-law here assumes a passive attitude, for it would be unbecoming of him to voice his own demands.

606 607 578 596 If one of the sons is lazy and the brother-in-law does all the work, all the herding, and, when they come to sell the sheep or to slaughter the animals, the son wants his proportionate share of the proceeds, his father will say to him, "My son, your brother-in-law did all the work. Now you want just as much of the profit as if you had worked. You must go and see your sister."

His sister says, "Take your bunch of sheep and put them in some other flock. Get someone who will herd your sheep for nothing! That's what you are looking for." The brother-in-law will sit by, keeping his peace.

606 596 [593] Avoidance and honor comprise only one aspect of a man's obligations to his wife's parents; the other facet is the duty of economic support. "A son may help support the old people if he desires to, but the son-in-law has to support them."

[224] If his father-in-law wants a son-in-law to do something, he has to do it. If he is given a bow and arrows, he has to go out. He is supposed to turn the whole deer over to his father-in-law and mother-in-law and not to take any unless they give it to him. The father-in-law and mother-in-law can share it with their neighbors if they wish to. The young man gives to his in-laws even if he is not ordered out to hunt by them.

606 596 This sense of identification with the economic activities of the wife's relatives begins immediately upon marriage. "There is something about it so that a man helps his wife's people." "As soon as a man marries he feels that he should work for his father-in-law and mother-in-law." The connection between this economic tie and the rule of residence is again emphasized. "It is usual to live with the wife's people. In the old days the boy had to work for his father-in-law. If a man killed two deer, he would give most of it to his wife's people." But so strong is the sense of economic obligation to the wife's parents that its dictates are heeded even when, for some reason, matrilocal residence is not

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I never knew how many things my father did know. He said to me once, "I can't tell you. I'd like you to know it all, but some things I cannot tell. I could take you where I went in the cave, but you might not 'make' it." And he laughed.

The possibility of multiple powers leads to interesting ramifications. One shaman, after some reverses, may decide that two of his powers are hostile toward each other, and he may feel obliged to discontinue the use of one of them. Another may be assured that his power source and another "work well together" and so may attempt to secure a complementary rite. One informant felt, for instance, that "Wind and Thunder go together," and he organized his own ritual life in terms of this precept.

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Personality differences and differences in interest are sharply evident. "Often men have more than one power. Some fellows have many; some just don't care about it at all. Several men may know the same thing, and one may know several things." Very nearly all adults are eager for supernatural guidance, but many see in their power merely a personal monitor or carry on ceremonies for the benefit of their immediate families only.

Some are suspected of having this power or that but refuse to give any satisfaction to their questioners. The power itself may have forbidden revelation of the connection or may have advised that the knowledge be withheld for a certain time. Consequently, curiosity about undeclared power is always rife. A newly worn feather or amulet arouses all kinds of speculation. A favorite device, when a person is suspected of ceremonial knowledge which he has not divulged, is to discuss the matter with him when his inhibitions are at low ebb. In a case of this kind "the man gave away the fact of his power while he was drunk, and the other got him to perform the ceremony for him."

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Sometimes, to help a friend or a relative, a person who thinks his rite might prove effective reluctantly "gives himself up." One man performed a snake ceremony before a selected group but asked them to say nothing about it. When I interviewed him, he pleaded profound ignorance of the snake rite. Since I could not very well confess that he had been betrayed to me, there was no way to elicit the desired data.

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754 K. did not give back the bone. D. looked for it in vain and soon he was unable to talk. He became very sick, was in awful condition, and died in a few days. Before he died, his wife had got sick and died. Before she died, something told her that her husband had witched her but that he would pay for it soon with his own life. The source that had given D. his power punished him. Maybe it didn't want him any more. A man always dies when he loses his objects of witchcraft.

The belief that a witch can accomplish his evil intentions by the power of the spoken word makes it very difficult for an accused person to defend himself adequately. One night while a man was sleeping there appeared before him first an old woman and an old man, both naked, then a young girl and a boy, also unclothed. They ordered him to put out his tongue, which they proposed to cross with pollen, and told him that thereafter anything he said should befall a person, "like wanting him to be killed, would happen that way." This man drove off his tempters, exclaiming, "Go away! Leave me alone! I'm a poor man. If it doesn't do good for my people, I don't want it." Concerning the lesson of this visitation, he added, "That's why a witch will say, 'All right, if I'm a witch, find it; take it out and I'll admit it.' You'd have to take his tongue out. You can't find it on him, but it's there."

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754 A witch may take advantage of any situation to carry out his purposes. "It causes confusion in the tribe, that witch business. If they were out in the wilds and cowboys or Mexicans killed some of their best men, someone might hold a ceremony and say a witch did it. Many times when a person got sick or died, someone was blamed."

So resourceful are witches that a constant guard against the unexpected must be maintained:

One time C. and I were going along the trail to church. A small bow and arrow were lying there right in the path. C. said, "Someone is witching the trail because we always go through here. If we step on this, something is going to happen to us." He got sticks and carefully carried those things away. Then we went on.

754 156 157 *Detection of witches; witchcraft and incest.*—Not infrequently a witch betrays himself by his virulent or aberrant behavior:

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A witch can be told by his language. If he makes a threat against another and it comes true, he may be suspected of being a witch. People who steal or habitually do mean things are witches.

Or his habits may be strange and may put him under suspicion. If you see a man on a high hill going through a strange ceremony, you can be sure he is a witch. A shaman would not go way out in the mountains and dance naked, as I have heard has been done. A shaman would perform his ceremony in the open and at home. Witches always go far out and do strange things. [756]

There are people who are queer. They are seen doing things that are not right in this life, as if I should get out here and pray to the sun when I shouldn't. It would look bad. Or if a man is seen carrying bones of animals and trying to hide them; it is things like that which cause a person to be suspected of being a witch.

Not long ago my wife got up very early to make a fire. It was before anyone else was up. There, by the little road which runs past our camp, she saw a man waving a handkerchief to the four directions. This was after this man's wife died. My wife asked me what I thought of this. I said I thought it was sorcery. It was a queer thing for a man to do.

Even if you are not a witch but do something peculiar, you will fall under suspicion. For instance, one day I was whistling and doing some steps of the masked dancer just for the amusement of my wife and child. My wife said, "You had better stop. Someone may see you and think you are a witch." I was not dressed properly for the dance, and there was no music. It would have looked bad if someone had seen me. The Chiricahua has to be very careful. When a person is accused of being a witch, there is always some reason for it in his actions.

. . . . In one case I heard of, a woman who took all her clothes off somewhere around here and ran up a hill with her buttocks toward the camps was known as a witch. Once a man was seen entirely naked handling his sexual organ and saying some prayer. This is peculiar, and the man fell under suspicion. He was suspected of going through a ceremony to give someone venereal disease.

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The possession of unusual amulets may also give rise to gossip:

They may have some beads or an arrowhead or something hidden under their clothes. Sometimes someone sees this. Then people are suspicious. Some may wear a little buckskin around the wrist or perhaps some little bones, or something like that, or maybe they have some hair. Some wear what they use openly and don't care if they are called witches.

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The manner of dress may reveal the witch. "We were warned when I was a boy that witches never wear good clothes. That's

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wise not to swell the number of the latter by radical departures from established custom.

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In keeping with the principle that ceremonialism should be confined to recognized values, undignified religious excitement is cause for humor rather than for praise.

This is sometimes called "religious excitement" or "religious ecstasy." It is the same as what is called "crazy ceremony." This is when a person goes through violent clapping of the hands involuntarily when in a religious ceremony. . . . . Some people get so excited in a ceremony that they shake all over or hit one hand on the other. I knew such a woman when I was young. Some go "Ah, ah, ah, ah!"—just gasp all the time. I knew one woman, part Chiricahua and part white, who acted like this when the masked dancers performed. The Chiricahua believe that you get this way when you take religion too seriously. Some Chiricahua think this is funny.

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The motives of the shaman may be questioned:

A woman shaman got all this poor woman's possessions. She was treating her for a long time. She kept asking for things. Finally she said that the sick woman would have to come to her camp to be cured. C. said when he heard about it that, if she went, she would never come back. And he was right.

Outright charges of fraud are not uncommon:

That man was never known as a shaman. He just picked up those songs from anywhere and changed them. Now he uses them for ceremonial songs. I was out at Whitetail with my wife. He was sleeping in the next room. His son-in-law was out there. (This was when his daughter was still alive.) I heard him making those songs up. He'd sing it in different ways. He'd sing, "My song makes everything well." Now he uses it for a ceremonial song. After practicing he'd come in where I was. I'd sing those words, and he'd just stare at me. He wanted to make a church song;[37] then he turned it into a ceremonial song. They say that he is crazy now and that his songs don't mean anything. No one knows where he got them or what right he has to them.

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Even when the patient recovers, the shaman may receive but grudging credit from his critics. Of one apparent cure, an informant said, "It is hard to tell why he got well. Maybe the man was ready to get well anyway, or maybe G. cured him."

[37] Songs patterned after old Chiricahua types musically but expressing Christian sentiments have lately been composed for church use.

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The rules of the hunt require generosity:

The first man who comes up to you when you kill a deer is entitled to the whole deer, no matter who he is. You say to him, "Go ahead, help yourself. Leave what you want for me." He can leave half or take most and leave you a little. You can't say anything. He can take the skin and all. The Chiricahua always feels this way. A poor fellow is out here hunting because he needs meat. If I kill something and he comes over, I share with him. That's the feeling of all the hunters. If you have already butchered a deer and have it on your horse carrying it into camp and meet someone, it is different. Then you give him whatever you want to. It's up to you.

An etiquette of reasonableness and shrewd utility governs these privileges, however. In no case of which I have a record has more than the hide and half the meat been taken. Often the hide alone or the meat only is accepted. A man who is well supplied with meat and skins may even politely decline the gift, for he knows that acceptance constitutes an implicit claim against him when the situation is reversed.

When two men are hunting together, "it's up to the man who makes the kill to give the hide to the other if he wants to." So automatic is this response that a man who kills a deer while he is in the company of another hunter is said "to kill it for" his friend. "When you are out and you kill a deer for another, he skins it."

The ideal of selflessness in obedience to rule is sometimes difficult to maintain, particularly when hunting companions have a common need of buckskin:

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I've heard jokes about hunting. This is one funny story. Two men were hunting together. Both were good shots. They saw a deer close by, a big deer. Neither of them could have missed it, it was so close. Each man knew that he wasn't entitled to the hide if he killed the deer. Each said to the other, "You shoot him." Each was making up all kinds of excuses for not shooting. One said to the other, "I've shot many deer for you, so you could get the hides. Now here's a chance for you to kill one for me, and you don't do it!" The other said, "You can kill that deer, and then I'll get the hide." Meanwhile the deer ran away, and neither of them got it. That's the story I've heard. They laugh when they tell this story.

The strength of the obligation of generosity can be inferred from this account, in which a man, despite his selfishness, is offered a share by the successful hunter:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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C. told me what happened another time. He said, "I saw a big buck in the bushes. I shot him, and the deer just dropped down. So I went over there and put my knife in its throat so it would bleed. Then I had to get my horse that I had left a long ways behind. This happened in a canyon, and, when I shot, A. was over there and heard it.

"While I went back after my horse, A. got to my deer. He dragged it about fifty yards away into some other bushes. I got back to the place where I had left the deer, but I couldn't find it. I followed the track, but every now and then he had lifted up the deer, trying to make me lose the trail. All the time I was trailing I thought no human would do a thing like that. I thought it must be a bear. So I got off my horse and loaded my gun and followed it in the brush, down the hill.

"Pretty soon I saw something black. It was moving in the bushes and I couldn't tell what it was. I was just a little way from it, maybe twenty yards. I saw the black hair; I thought it was a bear. So there I was. I wanted to see where his head was, for I wanted to shoot him in the ribs. I followed him with my rifle, ready to shoot.

"Then A. stood up and said, 'Phew!' I had almost shot that fellow! I walked up to him. I asked him, 'Why is it you took my deer? Why is it you didn't butcher it up there where it was but carried it down here? I almost shot you. I almost took you for a bear.'

"Then A. told me, 'There's your deer; take it then!' I said, 'Go ahead; take what you want. I'll take the rest of it.' "

Then A. took the hide and C. got what was left. C. said, "I was pretty good about it and let him have what he wanted."

When three men are hunting together, and one shoots a deer, his companions run for the fallen animal, and the first to touch it has the privilege of skinning it and keeping the hide. To the others usually go portions of the meat.

It is customary to help the widows and the aged. If there are many such individuals and meat is scarce, the hunter may have little meat left upon his arrival at his own home:

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If you go through the camps with a deer, they take it from you. You can't say anything. It's hard to refuse those who haven't any meat. That's the Chiricahua way. They take the hide and the meat; they take what they want. I used to sneak in at night. That's what some do.

Another informant feels that the distribution of food is governed by a more spontaneous generosity. "When a man returns from the hunt, the proceeds are his own. He doesn't have to give anything, but even if a lazy man wants food, he would not refuse him."

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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. . . . Not all come out at once. They name a man. This is in the song. They say, "You are a man! Now you are being called. What are you going to do when we fight with our enemy?" Then the man gets out and dances. Or, if he doesn't want to dance, he walks around the fire once to show that he is game.

I saw a war dance in 1883 at Fort Apache, when Chiricahua scouts were going after Geronimo. They called all the people together in a big open space. . . . .

Then the singer called a certain man by name. He said: "C., you are a man. You are known to be a great warrior. You have fought your enemies in close battle. We are calling you to dance." As soon as he said this, C. had his gun ready. He sprang out there, shooting into the air. Then they kept singing and called another name and another until four or five were out there dancing.

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The women were at the war dance. But they didn't dance or mix with the men. They stayed about six or eight yards away in a circle around the fire. They made that noise they make in the big tepee at the girl's puberty ceremony. At this war dance the women are all called White Painted Woman. A woman can't be referred to by her own name here. And the men are all called Child of the Water [except when they are named in the song].

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Not all men are equally persuaded by this dramatic summons to arms, however:

One fellow refused to fight the Mexicans because he had nothing against them. Hearing the remark, another man started to spear him, but two or three others stopped him. The objector sat down and actually cried. The rest of the group was angry with him. They told him it would have been all right if the other man had speared him. They told him, "You shouldn't say such things! The Mexicans aren't that way and would like to kill you." They all hated him and wouldn't allow him to go to war because his feelings toward Mexicans wouldn't go well in war.

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The "fierce dancing" of the warriors is usually followed by social dances in which the women also participate. The first of these is the round dance, named, for this occasion, "they show resentment against the enemy." "It is done in connection with the war dance before they go out on a war party. It takes place after the war dance but the same night. The people are in a bunch with the women on the outside. They go around the fire in a circle. The circle dance is for everybody." After the round dance come the very partner dances which take place during the nights of the girl's puberty rite, and these occur in the same relative order as on that occasion.

There seems to be some variation according to the scope and seriousness of the enterprise in the number of nights these dances

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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252 262 "The stomach isn't often eaten. Now when we butcher a cow, the stomach is thrown away."

Birds that are considered edible are most often boiled. Turkeys are eviscerated, plucked, and then boiled, for instance.

251 [462] It is the woman's task, also, to preserve any surplus meat by "jerking" it:

> She takes the thick parts, cuts them thin, and hangs them up to dry in the sun. To use the meat after it is dried, she pounds it up with a stone. It can be mixed with fat then and eaten like this without being cooked. Or even without the fat it is used on the march and in emergencies. When the people are in no hurry, this pounded meat can be added to soup, boiled in water, or fried. It will soften when boiled in water. This dried meat, in strips or in pounded form, can be kept in caches or carried in sacks. Jerked meat, when the people are camping in one place for a time, is laid over the higher limbs of a near-by tree.

THE PREPARATION OF BEVERAGES

273 462 [292] The preparation of beverages, both alcoholic and nonalcoholic, is classified with cooking and is, therefore, the task of the woman. Of tiswin-making it was said: "A man would never [558] make tiswin. It would lower his standing. One man used to [156] make it, but he was a roughneck, and didn't care about his standing. He lowered himself many times."

292 The juice of the prickly pear is occasionally drunk, but "for health" rather than for quenching thirst. Drinks which are compared to commercial coffee and tea are described:

> In those days when coffee was scarce, some people used the bark of different trees, such as oak [Gambel oak] to make a drink. Some used a plant for tea. It is [824] better than the tea you buy. The English name for it is lip fern. It grows all around here. There is another plant [cota] that is used for tea too. To make it, some is just broken into convenient pieces, put in a pot, boiled, and the water drained off. It is about the same color as store tea and tastes much the same.

273 [824] Alcoholic beverages are made from mescal, sotol, mesquite, and, more recently, from maize and wheat. Tiswin, the maize drink, is the only one of these beverages which is made or consumed in appreciable quantities. The people have become very [554] fond of this mild beer, and the services and company of a woman who can make it well are in constant demand.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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OWNERSHIP OF GOODS, TRADE, AND GIFT-GIVING

Not all individuals display an equal willingness to engage in every task that has been described. Shiftless persons have to be exhorted to better efforts by their spouses, relatives, and friends. Concerning a man whose laziness is proverbial, an informant remarked: "I heard his wife begging him to get out and work. She said, 'We're hungry. We haven't anything to eat.' I never was lazy like that man."

The strong group loyalty of kin, and the feeling that food should not be withheld from the hungry, save the family of the unproductive individual from acute suffering. "They just live poorer, that's all." And, since both the man and the woman work, remissness on the part of one is often compensated for by the redoubled efforts of the other. Here it is that the relatives of the partner who is being imposed upon step in to prevent his abuse. The kin of a woman whose husband is economically worthless to them are likely to bring pressure upon her ending either in more significant contributions from the man or in a divorce. If the fault lies with the woman, the husband's relatives remind him of the more satisfactory way in which he lived before his marriage, and he feels that he has grounds for divorce.

Ordinarily, however, ridicule is enough to force the unenterprising into moderate conformity:

> If there is a lazy man who doesn't work but lives off the others instead, they give things to him all right, but at the same time they talk to him, telling him that he's able-bodied and has a family and should help himself and hunt and take care of himself. They scold him and shame him and try to make him change. A man like that usually changes; there are lots of them. Many of them don't even go to war, but prefer to stay at home with the women. Some make excuses and act sick and do things like that so they won't have to work.

The products of an individual's industry, skill, and daring are, in theory at least, his own. The dwelling and the domestic articles she has made belong to the woman. How she disposes of baskets, water jars, and parfleches is strictly her business, and her actions are seldom disputed by her husband. The only limitation on her rights is that her own household be reasonably well equipped. Likewise, those things which a man makes or obtains

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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"The only way I'm going to cool down is if you bring those two people before me, right here. I won't do anything to harm them now, but I want to talk with them before you men."

They didn't say "Yes" right away. Instead these old men said, "Are you sure you are just going to talk to them? We don't want trouble. We don't want you to kill those people or to kill yourself."[1] They had several minor arguments about it until they felt sure he would behave himself.

The husband told them, "Bring them in if you have them close by. I want to talk to them before you."

They brought the two in there. Men were sitting around. The woman came in crying, scared. The man came in and sat down. The husband was sitting over on the other side. He started to talk. "The pleading that these men have done for you is the only thing that is saving you two. I would have killed you both, or you would have killed me, if I had found you. If it wasn't for these men, I don't know where you'd be."

Then he said to his wife, "Are you marrying that man for love?" She wouldn't speak.

He spoke to the man. "Do you know what kind of a woman she is? She fights like a man. She's a mean woman, I'm warning you. She'll give you plenty of trouble. But now that you are going to take her away from me, you're going to keep her. If you get too much of her and give her up, or if you don't lick her enough and can't handle her, I'm going to beat up both of you. Small as you are, you are going to get beaten up many times! I've had many a fight with her. You two are not marrying for love. Now take her and remember what I say."

The man told him, "You can take my word for it, she won't make a slave out of me."

"She'd better not. You'd better not let her," the husband said.

As the traditional stories and this account indicate, the husband of a faithless woman is permitted to take drastic action if he feels strongly about the injury done him. It is the function of the leaders to dissuade him from violence, but their pressure is moral and not binding. A wronged husband who does not show some rancor is considered unmanly. "A man would at least pretend anger." The husband of the episode just recounted, in spite of his great display of fury, "didn't care. He married right away to a Comanche." If a husband does not seem to be very much ex-

[622] [627] 837 156 626

[1] Suicide as a result of unfaithfulness and marital difficulties is not unknown. "If a man's wife was unfaithful and he killed her, he might kill himself." During the stay at Fort Sill a Chiricahua known as Fun took his own life after an attack on his wife in which he thought he had killed her. The woman recovered, however.

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1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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837 cited over such an affair, "sometimes his friends will try to in-
[156] flame him." Thus the social pressure upon the husband for stern
[626] action is often almost equal to the efforts of the leaders to settle the matter peaceably.

684 The woman, since she is close at hand, is likely to be the first to feel the husband's wrath. A beating is the least punishment she suffers. If there is no one to intercede for her, her very life may be forfeit, or she may be subjected to mutilation:

A man never whips his wife without reason. If he finds out that she is unfaithful, he whips her, cuts her nose, or else kills her. He would have to have evidence of unfaithfulness and not hearsay, however. Treatment like this does not come
[593] for little things. For not obeying him, or for not working, a man would merely scold his wife, and he would do so in private. If the woman has committed adultery, the people think that what happens to her is her own fault and don't say anything about the punishment she gets.

The reason they cut the nose of a woman is to make her look ugly. She is marked so that no one will meddle with her. One woman who is still living has her nose cut like this. Her husband cut her nose out of jealousy and left her because she went with another man.

The husband is just as insistent that the man who has disrupted his home be punished:

After the husband has punished or killed his wife, he will go after the man and kill him. But the other, if he is wise, will run away and not return for years until it has blown over. I cannot remember a case where the man who is to blame
[627] has killed the husband instead. If that happened, close relatives of the husband
[602] would kill him.

837 Nothing leads more quickly to trouble between men than sus-
578 picion or charges of wife seduction:

This morning I went up to a place where a group of men were standing. I was right beside B. Pretty soon L. came. You could see he was angry. He placed himself right in front of B. and said, "Somebody was crawling around my camp last night and bothering my wife, and I just want to say that if I catch anyone around there again, I'm going to kill him." You could see he was talking to B. B. just hung his head. Then L. talked to B. directly and said, "If you ever come around my camp again, I'm going to kill you."

I saw there might be trouble, so I stepped between them. "Now don't get mad," I told L. "Don't get yourself into trouble."

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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During the dance after a war party returns, it is all right to go home with a divorced woman. This kind of marriage is permitted. But it would not be done with a girl who had never been married. This could also be done during the social dancing at the tepee ceremony. These are people who have already been courting each other and talking together. It is just a good chance to do what they intended to do anyway.

SEXUAL ABERRANCE AND PERVERSION

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According to an informant, "homosexuality is forbidden. The person who does this is considered a witch and is killed." Yet there is a suggestion of the violation of the canon in another statement. "I have never heard of two men having sexual relations together. I've heard about women doing it and about boys doing it to each other, but not older men."

One story of Lesbianism continually goes the rounds. "They say that there were two women at Fort Sill who lived together and had sexual relations together. They say someone once heard one of them ask the other, 'Is it sticky?'." Another informant who mentioned this incident placed it in the distant past:

I never heard of male homosexuality. I have, however, heard of Lesbianism. There was a case a long time ago, and the old men used to talk about it. There were two married women who ran off from their husbands and made a camp together for themselves. The people went to their camp and heard the two women talking. One was on top of the other, and one asked the other if she felt something sticky. The answer was, "Yes."

These women were laughed at and ridiculed. I don't know what they did after they were discovered, whether they continued to live together or not. I just heard the old people talk about this long ago.

If I should see two women behaving like this, I would feel ashamed of them if they had relatives. But if the women didn't have close relatives, I wouldn't feel so ashamed of them. The difference is that the women would bring shame to their relatives. The rest of the people might think they were so hard up they couldn't be married properly.

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There are a number of women who excel in activities commonly considered the interests of men. Two such women, both now very old, were mentioned by several persons, and one in particular was singled out as a deviant from the ordinary feminine behavior pattern:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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156 Every now and then a woman would be expert with the bow and could make arrows and a bow. This is exceptional though. Two women here could do everything like a boy when they were young. D. could ride well, make a bow and arrows, and was a real athlete. She has been married. Her husband died just a few years ago. She has never had children, but her husband was married before and had two children by his first wife.

[838] These women, though they are more interested in masculine pursuits than the average woman, are not considered transvestites. [868] All girls are urged to be strong and fast. It is simply accepted that these particular individuals have carried the requirement further than is strictly necessary. Their preoccupation with such things was confined primarily to their youth. They have married, have accepted the woman's role in all essentials, and in old age are not distinguishable in dress or behavior from others of their sex and years. The attitude of those discussing them is never one of ridicule or condemnation but rather one of admiration.

838 True berdaches are rare, and their emergence is definitely discouraged. The last one of whom I have a record died before 1880:

P. and S. had a brother who was like this. He never married. He died in Old Mexico. This man talked and walked like a woman, sewed clothes, and made moccasins. He didn't make baskets though. He went where the women were all the time. He hardly ever went where the men were playing at hoop and pole, and he himself never played it. Instead he played the stave game with the women. Such people were never treated with any great respect by us. We just laugh at them.

595 [773]

POLYGYNY AND SORORAL POLYGYNY

In a coyote story a white man whom Coyote deceives is said to have two wives. The polygyny with which this alien is credited is really practiced by some men of the tribe:

In the old way a man can have more than one wife. Of course, he isn't expected to take more than one wife if he can't afford it. If he isn't a leading man or a good warrior, he shouldn't do it. A common man is criticized for it. It is the wealthy men who have more than one wife. A man can have more than two wives. It depends on a man's position and whether he can provide for them.

When a man takes a second wife, it is usually a sister or relative of the first. But this is not always the case. Perhaps there are no more girls in that family, or there are none of the right age. If the women a man marries come from different families, he has to hide from both his mothers-in-law and keep up the avoidances and polite forms for the relatives of both those women. [602] [606]

4:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1947
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

you. If you see that it is a real power, take it. If it is earthly and little, don't take it. It will be of great use to you if it is a real power. 787 798

The instructor will try to make him see how to tell what is great and what is little. He will say, "Such a power spoke to me when I was young, but it was nothing; I did not take it. But another power spoke to me and it was great." Yet the young man has to decide for himself whether a power is worth while when he hears something, for nobody can tell for another person whether what has spoken to him has worthwhile power or not.

Nor can a power grant be induced by desire or special modes of action. The ways of power and its reasons for preferring some of the persons it approaches are sometimes inexplicable.

It's just like this. There is an English-speaking Indian here. He grows long hair and tries to live the way we did in the old days. He has been carrying turquoise around and everything. He wants to be a big man in ceremonies, that's why. But he doesn't amount to anything. [156]

We can't do anything about it by ourselves, you and I. We might not believe what some others claim about their experiences. We might be sitting here saying, "It's all a lie." Then a spirit might talk to us. Then we'd believe. We'd say, "Well, it happened all right." And we'd have to believe it. We might not believe some man who claims that something spoke to him, and he might be telling the truth. You've got to watch and see which man's power is good.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 202-3.)

Once an understanding is achieved between a power source and a shaman, the Chiricahua derives many benefits. One of these advantages is that the power often acts as a guardian spirit to warn of dangers or to advise concerning undertakings. A shaman seldom initiates anything important without praying and singing to his power and waiting for a sign or a response. This, for example, is the pledge a power source made to a shaman at the time their association began: 756 787 798 [782]